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THE ATLANTIC INSTITUTE

A Prospectus

The Provisional Committee
for the Atlantic Institute
Brussels, May, 1960.

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AN OUTLINE OF TOPICS FOR POSSIBLE STUDY BY THE ATLANTIC INSTITUTE

I. — What is the nature of the Atlantic Community and what are its purposes ?

- (1) What are the essential values that bind the Atlantic Community together? How are they endangered by internal and external forces? How can they be re-defined and improved? How can we absorb new and revolutionary ideas into our world civilization?
- (2) What are our ultimate goals? What modifications in our current institutions may be necessary as we move toward these goals?
- (3) Does the growth of an Atlantic Community support the long-run development of a more viable world community ?
- (4) How do the various regional organizations and alliance systems in the non-Soviet world relate to one another and to universal organizations?

Note : This list is by no means exhaustive, nor shouldt it be taken as an advance commitment as to the Institute's program. It is designed to illustrate the kinds of questions with which the Atlantic Institute could deal. It was produced in consultation with more than 100 leaders of thought in Europe and North America.

II. — How can the Atlantic Community countries coordinate their efforts to preserve and enrich their civilization ?

- (1) What divisive elements obstruct the path to closer Atlantic unity?
- (2) What new political forms could be devised to meet practically the need for greater Atlantic unity within the next decade?
- (3) What is the proper relationship to the whole of sub-regional groupings (Common Market, Council of Europe, etc.) within the Atlantic Community?
- (4) What is being done—and what more ought to be done—to develop a greater sense of community among the peoples of the Atlantic area?
- (5) How can the obstacles to greater intellectual interchange and more effective communication within the Atlantic Community be overcome?
- (6) How can we reconcile clashes of interest and societal conflicts that cut across national borders?
Examples:
 - problems of political decision-making under the increasing pressure of competing loyalties;
 - the clash of political ideologies; labor-employer conflicts; racial tensions;
 - outmoded nationalisms.
- (7) Articles in the Western press say ad nauseum that the West must take bold new initiatives in the field of propaganda. Ideas so far put forward have been scarce and vague.
- (8) What can we do cooperatively to revitalize our educational systems, at a time when their relative

effectiveness may well prove decisive for Western civilization?

(9) What sort of « Atlantic Community position » on the control of armaments would satisfy the requirements of Western security, world opinion, and utility as a negotiating instrument?

(10) What further ways and means can be found to improve the peaceful settlement of disputes between the Atlantic Community countries?

(11) What steps could be taken to organize NATO more effectively? When senior partners of the alliance negotiate on behalf of the others, how can the junior partners have more of a sense of participation?

(12) What kind of an economic system does the West really have today ? For example: in actual fact, what is the generally-recognized role of the State in our present economic life ?

(13) Is our economic system fully adapted to achieve the kind of growth we want?

(14) To what extent are more coordinated financial policies, between groups of countries within the Atlantic Community or among all of them, necessary? What obstacles hinder this development? What measures could be taken?

(15) By what means can the Atlantic countries best act to promote an accommodation between « Six » and « Seven », retain the values inherent in either development, and promote general progress toward trade liberalization within the GATT framework?

(16) How does the Western system of parliamentary democracy *really* operate in practice? What are its ideals? How do we measure up to them?

(17) How could the Atlantic countries better cooperate in space research?

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- (4) What is the present state of Soviet-satellite relations? How could East-West relations in the cultural, economic and social fields be strengthened as a means of maintaining contact with the satellite peoples?
- (5) What has been the impact in the Soviet Bloc and in the West as a result of the increased interaction between the two? (Cultural manifestations, exchange of persons, intensified diplomatic contact, etc.).
- (6) What should be the policy of the Atlantic countries with respect to East-West trade?

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III. — How can a relationship between the developed countries and the emerging countries be cultivated which will contribute to the freedom, growth, and stability of all?

(1) What are the mutual interests of the Western countries and the emerging countries? How can we inculcate among the peoples of both an understanding of this close relationship?

(2) How can the process of the devolution of empire be accomplished in a way which will preserve maximum stability and obviate unfortunate cleavages between new states and old colonial powers?

(3) How can the economic and political development of the emergent countries most effectively be assisted by the developed countries?

—What kind of framework for coordination will serve best?

—How can the developed countries and the emergent states plan together to carry out their growth?

—What are the resources of the Atlantic countries which might be employed in this effort?

—What should be our attitude towards nationalism, federation, and other political stages or forms in places like Latin America and Africa?

—How, for example, can Europe and Africa most usefully be associated in the future?

—How can the Atlantic nations best help meet the need for trained personnel in the emergent countries?

—How can we give the emerging nations better opportunities for selling their products abroad? (Why

are the terms of trade, for example, now so disadvantageous for the raw material-producing countries?)

- What can the West do to help the emergent countries develop viable social and political institutions?
- (4) What is the image of the West in the eyes of lesser-developed countries? What elements in our system are most severely criticized?
- (5) What is the real effect of low-wage industries on international trade?

IV. — How can the Atlantic Community meet the challenge of international communism and, at the same time, work for eventual relations of normalcy and mutual trust with nations and peoples under communist rule ?

- (1) What are the current assumptions of Soviet policy? What is the nature of the challenge it presents?
- (2) What is the significance for the Atlantic Community of Soviet economic expansion and its use as an instrument of foreign policy?
- Is the Soviet economy actually growing more rapidly than Western economies?
- Will the USSR be able, on a sustained basis and on a significant scale, to assist emerging countries economically?
- What can be done to counter the political and economic infiltration of Asia and Africa by the USSR and China?
- (3) Communist propaganda attempts to sap Western morale. What is the extent of its influence? What counter measures should be taken?

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Introduction

HISTORY OF THE ATLANTIC INSTITUTE.

The Atlantic Congress, meeting in London in June 1959, adopted a resolution calling for the creation of a « Centre of Studies for the Atlantic Community ». The 750 delegates to the Congress thereby demonstrated their support for an ideal which had already been the object of much study and debate by numerous organizations and conferences since 1953. Notable had been similar recommendations by the NATO Parliamentarians' Conference, the Atlantic Treaty Association, the Declaration of Atlantic Unity, and the Conference on Atlantic Community (Bruges 1957).

A PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE CREATED.

To translate the London resolution into action, a group of Congress delegates and other citizens from various Atlantic Community countries met in Brussels in October 1959 and created a « Provisional Committee for the Atlantic Institute ».

For five months, a small Steering Committee studied the ways and means by which such an Institute could be established. More than 200 leading citizens of Atlantic countries were consulted in person; many others responded by post to a request for their opinions. With few exceptions, the reaction was most encouraging. Their many suggestions were embodied in this plan for the Atlantic Institute.

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On April 2, 1960, the Steering Committee's report was adopted by the Provisional Committee and the decision taken to create an Atlantic Institute with the least possible delay.

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Why an Atlantic Institute ?

Around the shores of the Nord Atlantic are grouped countries who share important interests, values, and historical experiences. In this Atlantic area, both industrial development and the institutionalization of freedom have reached an advanced stage. These facts, signalling a high degree of interdependence, today imply common responsibilities: our growth, in freedom under law, can only be achieved in greater unity. But not only this—we must also increase our common capacity to help emerging countries achieve *their* legitimate aspirations.

The Western capacity for cooperation has increased remarkably since World War II, through such expressions of political will and institutional ingenuity as the Marshall Plan, NATO, and the OEEC. Yet even as this newfound capacity for political innovation has developed, the issues requiring joint solution have become more stubborn, more complex, more profound. The failure to agree upon adequate definitions of our vital common interests, let alone find long-range solutions for the problems which they pose, is endangering our ultimate survival.

If the Atlantic countries are to mount an adequate response to the challenge which they face together, it is imperative that means be found for better utilizing their wealth of brainpower and experience in resolving the great issues of our time. A sort of « common market » of guiding ideas is essential.

To this end, an Atlantic Institute is being created.

I. — The role of the Atlantic Institute

The Atlantic Institute, an international, non-governmental, autonomous organization, is an instrument for concentrating the intellectual resources of the Atlantic countries in order to:

- (a) determine the practical applications of the common values on which the civilization of the Atlantic countries is based;
- (b) identify and define the critical issues affecting relations among the Atlantic nations and relations between the Atlantic and other nations or groupings;
- (c) relate expert knowledge to the solution of these issues and promote relevant applied research;
- (d) enlist the sustained attention of influential persons to the development of an Atlantic consensus on such questions;
- (e) anticipate and assist the planning and action of governments and other responsible authorities, by virtue of the imaginativeness and soundness of the Institute's recommendations and the strength of its ties to leading sectors of the public.

In performing these functions, the Institute will serve as a three-way bridge among intellectuals, men of affairs, and officials and political leaders concerned with Atlantic problems.

The Atlantic Institute will not ordinarily undertake research, but will, as a catalyst, persuade and assist competent institutions to do what is needed.

The Institute is not an agency of mass communication, nor is it the spokesman for any partisan views or special interests. It is dedicated to the independent development of common views which may form the basis for more closely coordinated policies among the Atlantic nations.

II. — The organizational structure of the Atlantic Institute

BOARD OF GOVERNORS

This is the ultimate authority of the Institute. The Board has power to appoint and dismiss the Director-General. It appoints the members of the Policy Committee and may create other committees as required. The Board meets annually to approve the Institute's budget, to review its work, and to consider a report of its Policy Committee on the key issues facing the Atlantic Community.

The thirty-eight members will be chosen from among the countries of the Atlantic Community. Larger countries will be given proportionately greater weight. Members should be persons with a knowledge of public life, prestige at home and abroad, and a vital interest in the work of the Institute.

Members of the Board will serve as individuals and not as representatives of any government or other body. Their term of office will normally be for four years, the initial members choosing by lot staggered terms of one, two, three or four years. Members may be reelected only once without an interruption of one year. The Chairman of the Board will be elected by its members for a term of two years. The six members of the Policy Committee will also be members of the Board.

The officers of the Provisional Committee will select twenty-eight members of the initial Board, including the members of the initial Policy Committee. These twenty-eight will then co-opt an additional ten. Thereafter, new members will be elected by the Board to fill necessary vacancies.

The Director-General of the Atlantic Institute will be an ex officio member of the Board of Governors.

The Secretary-General of NATO and the Secretary-General of the projected Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development will be invited to become members of the Board of Governors. The Board may invite the Secretaries-General of other international organizations to join its membership. Exclusive of these additional appointments, the regular membership of the Board of Governors will not exceed thirty-eight.

THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL

He will be a person of recognized international reputation, intellectual stature, proven executive ability, and a firm grasp of the great issues facing the West. He is the executive officer of the Board of Governors.

The Director-General's tasks are :

- (1) Within the framework of Board policy, plan and direct the execution of projects agreed upon by the Policy Committee;
- (2) Act as chief administrator of the Institute, with responsibility for recruitment, dismissal, and operation of its staff;
- (3) Submit an annual budget to the Board of Governors and subsequently administer it;
- (4) Insure the effective functioning of the Policy Committee;
- (5) Effect necessary liaison between Board, Policy Committee, Secretariat, and appropriate external entities;
- (6) Make public, as appropriate, the accomplishments and plans of the Institute.

POLICY COMMITTEE

The Board will appoint, except in the first instance, a Policy Committee of six outstanding persons to advise and assist the Director-General. The Director-General will constitute the seventh member, but will not have the right to vote on questions regarding

judgment of his exercise of office. With respect to matters of substantive policy, this Committee will act on behalf of the Board in the interim between its meetings.

Membership of the Policy Committee should be chosen carefully to represent the top leadership in principal fields of concern for the Atlantic countries.

The Policy Committee will follow closely all developments which fall within the purview of the Atlantic Institute. It will identify, define, and arrange in order of priority those issues which it believes to be of a critical nature for the Atlantic countries. With the Director-General, the Policy Committee will formulate plans for dealing with these questions. It will evaluate regularly the work accomplished.

Members of the Policy Committee will be expected to spend considerable time in the service of the Institute. They will meet at least once every two months and will be expected to spend additional time in private consultations and personal study concerning the priority problems of the Atlantic Community. Committee members should be in constant touch with the Director-General. They will be reimbursed for their services to the Institute.

The Policy Committee may, as required, appoint subcommittees and working groups of qualified persons, without regard to their nationality, to advise concerning problems to which it has assigned priority. Experts with whom the Institute is in regular consultation will constitute « The Research Council ».

The Policy Committee will choose its own chairman from among its members for a term of office which it will establish.

THE SECRETARIAT

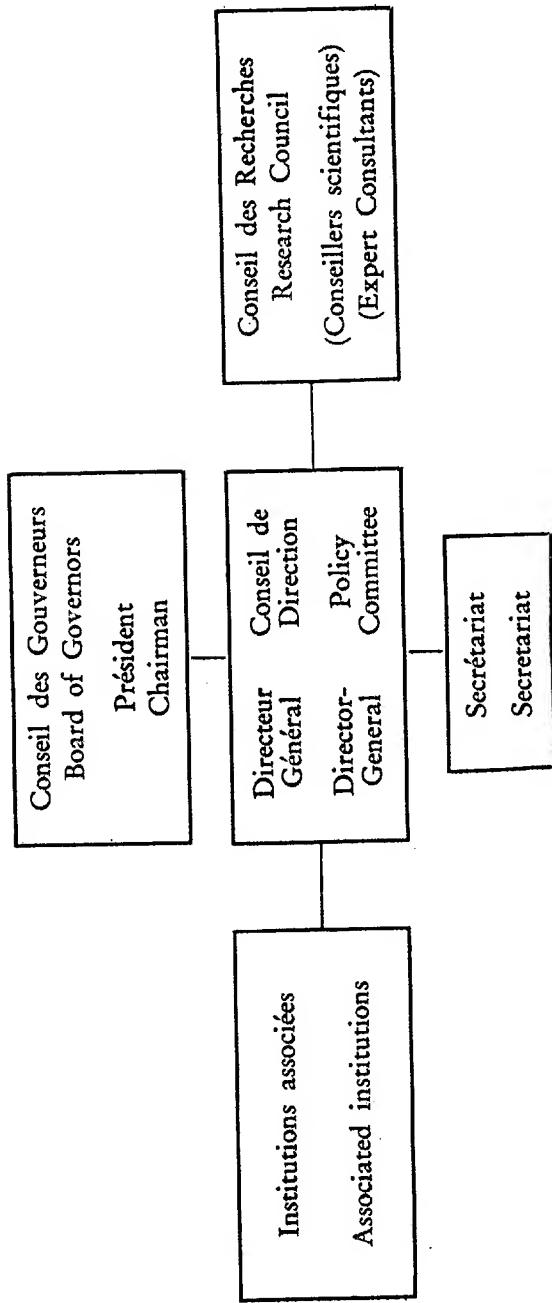
To assist the Director-General, a small but highly-qualified staff will be required. This will comprise: an executive director, several persons with special knowledge of substantive issues facing the Atlantic countries and a facility for writing reports; a few

persons of general organizational competence to arrange for meetings, publication of documents, etc.; personnel for the operation of the Institute's clearinghouse; and the necessary clerical assistants. Secretariat members will be selected without regard to national origins or citizenship.

HONORARY FUNCTIONS

Provision will be made to award honorary memberships or other tokens of recognition to persons who have rendered exceptional service to the Atlantic Community.

STRUCTURE DE L'INSTITUT ATLANTIQUE
ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE
ATLANTIC INSTITUTE



III. — How the Atlantic Institute will work

In carrying out its mission, the Atlantic Institute will conduct the following activities:

1.—Definition of issues.

The Institute's Policy Committee will meet for two or three days every two months, to discuss at length the whole gamut of long-range problems facing the Atlantic Community. The various issues will be identified, defined, and assigned priority. The Institute will concentrate on a few issues each year which appear to be of greatest importance.

2.—Adoption of program plans.

The Director-General, on the basis of such a priority list, will prepare plans for approval of the Policy Committee.

3.—Implementation of the program.

Assisted by the Secretariat, the Director-General would employ the following methods, as appropriate:

(a) The Institute clearinghouse would provide synthesis of research studies and other writings bearing on the subject at hand. It would also provide information as to relevant studies planned or in progress by other institutions, and would share such information when others desire it.

(b) Research by other institutions could be stimulated if it is found that fact or detailed analyses are lacking.

(c) Groups of experts could be convened to help define and simplify issues, to discuss the application of recent research findings, or to draw

conclusions from them. Out of such meetings might also flow guidance for new research.

(d) Conferences of men of affairs and experts could be held to explore basic issues, pose alternative courses of action, formulate useful conclusions, and sometimes offer recommendations. A member of the Secretariat or an outside expert would usually provide a paper for discussion and a subsequent report for adoption. National or international officials might be invited to participate informally.

4.—Action.

The Director-General will provide the Policy Committee with reports resulting from application of one or more of these methods. In some cases, the Policy Committee will decide to adopt formal recommendations or statements of alternatives. These it may either publish or transmit confidentially to relevant decision-makers.

At other times, the Policy Committee will prefer merely to note the reports and recommendations of panels and conferences it has sponsored and authorize their publication, without taking responsibility for the views expressed.

The implementation of policy recommendations will depend in large measure on close personal relationships between members of the Board of Governors and key public leaders.

5.—Auxiliary services.

The Institute will publish periodic bibliographies and lists of research in progress. It may also publish a short monthly newsletter, with summaries of its conferences and studies, references to current books, magazine articles or documents of great importance to policy-makers, and news as to the Institute's future program. The newsletter would provide busy legislators, government officials, scholars, and men of affairs with a highly-condensed view of the Atlantic Community's key problems.

Scholars, government leaders, elder statesmen, and men of affairs will be encouraged to visit the Institute for brief periods to impart new ideas and perhaps receive them.

The Institute could stimulate the development of Atlantic studies in universities, perhaps eventually by encouraging the establishment of « Atlantic chairs ». Fellowships will be provided to scholars whose work can contribute to the Institute's current studies.

The Institute may help other bodies sharing similar purposes to work cooperatively, when they so desire.

IV. — The Atlantic Institute's external relations

The success of the Institute's work will depend in large measure on the extent and quality of its ties with other bodies having similar interests.

The Atlantic Institute will invite all non-governmental organizations engaged in parallel or related activity to cooperate with it. Such association would commit these groups to exchange publications with the Institute. The bibliographical facilities of the Institute will be put at the disposal of its associates and of individual scholars. If desired, cooperation could proceed to the exchange of information on conferences, research studies, or other activities in the planning stage. The Institute and its associates might also define jointly important issues requiring study. Sometimes, the Institute's « endorsement » of such issues may help other institutions and individual scholars to obtain support for research.

The following kinds of organizations will be invited to cooperate with the Atlantic Institute:

- (1) Universities and other institutions of higher learning or their specialized branches, interested in Atlantic problems;
- (2) Institutes of international affairs (e.g., Chatham House, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik) and other groups devoted to the study of foreign policy problems;
- (3) Organizations involved in research or discussion of international economic issues (e.g., the C.E.P.E.S. in Europe, the Committee on Economic Development in the U.S.A.).
- (4) National and international trade union organizations, employers' groups, and professional associations.

- (5) Specialized international institutions (such as the Institute for Social Studies in The Hague).
- (6) Voluntary organizations and educational bodies promoting mutual understanding and closer relations between the Atlantic countries. (The studies and reports of the Institute may often assist the educational work of such groups.)
- (7) Groups engaged in the study of European unity and related questions.

It is envisaged that the Institute will also have close ties with intergovernmental organizations (such as NATO and the projected Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development), supranational bodies, and national governments in the Atlantic area. The Institute may undertake studies suggested or commissioned by these bodies, based on problems arising out of their practical experience.*

The Institute will include in its attention the needs and concerns of lesser-developed countries as related to the Atlantic Community's concerns. The Institute will welcome association with relevant institutions in the countries of Latin America, Asia and Africa.

* In December 1959, for example, the U.S. Secretary of State, Mr. Herter, recommended that a long-range study be made of Atlantic Community problems to be faced over the next decade. The Atlantic Institute could make an important contribution to such a study.

V. — Financing the Institute

For its initial period of five years, the Atlantic Institute will require a minimum sum of \$1,500,000. This will be sought from foundations and trusts, trade unions, industry, private individuals, and governments of the Atlantic countries. Within a given country, the relative amounts from these various sources will be determined by those locally responsible for raising funds. The contribution from any one country may emanate from a single source, if desired, although the donation of no single contributor may dominate on an overall, international basis. As required, national committees will be formed to provide tax-exempt status for contributions.

In its first year, the Institute will devise and put into operation a system of sustaining and institutional memberships. This should not be aimed at large numbers, but at providing a steady and appreciable source of revenue from among individuals and firms willing to contribute sums of \$500 or more, but unable to provide major donations. Some revenue will also be derived from the sale of periodic and miscellaneous publications of the Institute.

The Institute will begin operation as soon as its basic personnel and administrative costs have been guaranteed. A minimum of \$600,000 is needed, which will permit detailed planning to begin.

At the end of the Institute's first four years, its record will be evaluated thoroughly. If it has proved its unquestioned value, more permanent arrangements will be made for its future, incorporating desirable changes in purpose, structure, and budget.

Provisional Committee
for the Atlantic Institute

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